/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 elieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
66 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[439] Tulawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary
●[237] type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or grandddaughter by deed of gift.

/277 cont./

556 562 Hence they constitute true hereditary property of which the women are the usufructuaries and from the possession of which they draw extreme haughtiness and arrogance.

556 [181] Lastly, other elements of wealth are tied in an even more intimate fashion to the social structure. In a collectivity whose clearest activity is expended in chants and dances, everything used for ritual ornamentation /278/ has a special value. This is 556 why feathers, the real raw material for social and religious dis- •237 plays, form a wealth of a completely special kind. Each native [415] has a capital of feathers, carefully kept in long boxes of cylindrical [435] wood, which have a fixed "market price" according to kind, color, and form. There are common and precious ones. But the 556 use of each type of valuable feather is the privilege of one clan. 237 The ordinary feathers are also regulated: their use, the type of 614 object in the composition of which they enter, the technique of manufacture, and finally the style vary with the clan. This 556 614 specialization extends to practically the totality of manufactured products: arrows, bows, weapons, necklaces, pendants, head-dresses, etc. Further on we will set forth what we were able to gather on these social privileges. All the clans are not equal as to the variety of arms and ornaments which they have the right to make, nor as to the rarity of raw materials which they alone have the right to utilize. Some clans, for example, can make several types of bows, others only one; some have rich ornaments among their prerogatives, while others are limited to modest forms or materials.

571 614 To all these secondary distinctions which we have previously enumerated, an economic hierarchy of rich, modest, and poor clans should be added. The ᵃKario Bokodori clan, extinct in Kejara, was especially rich according to the natives; the clans or subclans Āróre ʸᵍčāb̄ogeʷ̄oge, Ewåguddudoge ʸᵍčāb̄ogeʷ̄oge, and Ewåguddudoge bo'pokejewōge are rich. At a more modest level are the Ki, Kōge, ʸČiba, Bakoro, Bóro, Paiwe, Apiborege, Ewåguddudoge baiaddadaᵃ̄ge, and O ʸčera clans.

The Bādejebage ʸčębegeʷ̄oge were given to us as especially poor.

/284 cont./

634 463 301 [239] [435] is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'ũga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

634 849 Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

634 571 123 Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tušawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tušawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, [431] and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

634 Tušawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Čera [122] clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a [203] "bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

/288 cont./

411 531 237 the ceremonial bow. As in the preceding type, /289/ the central part is of bare wood, save for the protective rolling. All the rest of the bow is covered with ornamentation which varies with different specimens: sheaths of glued on feathers, rings of feathers or fur, mosaics of feathers of different colors, etc.... All along the wood long feathers or throat feathers of the arara, in pairs or singly, are attached. Finally, some specimens show a bunch of varicolored feathers at the top end.

411 531 237 614 The origin of the bow can be deduced from the three following elements: 1) nature and color of the casing of the wood; 2) number, distribution, nature, and color of the feathers adhering to the wood; 3) nature of the feathers or insignia placed in the bunch at the top; thus, some bows of the Bakoro clan have, in the middle of the feathers at the end, a small wooden lath covered with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills, this technique being its privilege.

Figure 17 /see p. 29/ gives four "formulas" for ceremonial bows:

a. Not identified; 1.52 meters long. Wood covered with small red /rouge/ feathers glued on with resin; on the sides two crests of white /blanc/ down broken in the middle.

br: blue and red arara feathers
vr: green and red arara feathers
bj: blue and yellow arara feathers
bn: throat feathers in alternate white and black bands
j: yellow toucan feathers.

b. Āróre clan; 1.62 meters long. Wood covered with red feathers glued on. All the hanging feathers are attached in pairs. Top bunch of small red and yellow parrot feathers, with five long emblematic feathers.

b: blue — r: red
br, bj, bn: as above.

c. Āróre (ʧẹbegeʷõ) clan; 1.62 meters long. Wood covered with alternate rings of black, yellow /jaune/, and red feathers glued on.

/289 cont./

411 r, bj, br: as above.

531 d. Čiba Čera clan; 1.50 meters long. Wood covered with
237 red feathers glued on, with rings of white down. Feathers are
614 attached in an asymmetrical fashion in pairs and singly.

br, bj: as above.

Ewăguddu clan specimen gives the following formula (Fig. 18 /see p. 31/): /290/ /Figure 17 appears here./ /291/ wood covered with red glued on feathers with incrustations on the inner surface of small squares of yellow feathers (lower half, four groups of six; upper half, three groups of six). At the top a bunch of small yellow and red parrot feathers, with seven arara feathers: br, bj, br, bj, br, bj, br. All the ornamental feathers attached in pairs. Lower half: br, br-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj. Upper half: br, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-br, br-br, br.

411 Arrows. The arrows used in Kejara aldeia are of four types:
harpoon-arrows for fishing, undifferentiated;
"macaco" arrows, with a point made of a sharpened bone on the wooden head, undifferentiated;
bird arrows, with a club-head, undifferentiated;
ounce arrows, subdivided into two types:

[616] 1) point of notched wood; one row of notches indicates the
[531] Čera, two, the Tugare.

2) point cut with a deep bevel forming a groove.

411 Most of the ounce arrows have at the lower end, between the
531 arrow feathers, a decoration which is the mark of the owner's clan.
614 Figure 19, A-L /see p. 32/ reproduces 12 arrows with emblems:

A. Paiwe — B. Kario Bokodori — C. Ewăguddu (?) —
D. Apibóre kujagoreb — E. Bóro Čera — F. Ki — G. Apibore —
H. Bādejeba (Bakoro) — I. Āróre — J. Kōge Čera —
K. Bokodori-Čiba-Čera — L. Āróre.

[237] Specimens A and H are decorated with pieces of glued on feathers. F, J, K, and L are adorned with small colored tufts made from quill feathers.

[Text continues on p. 30]

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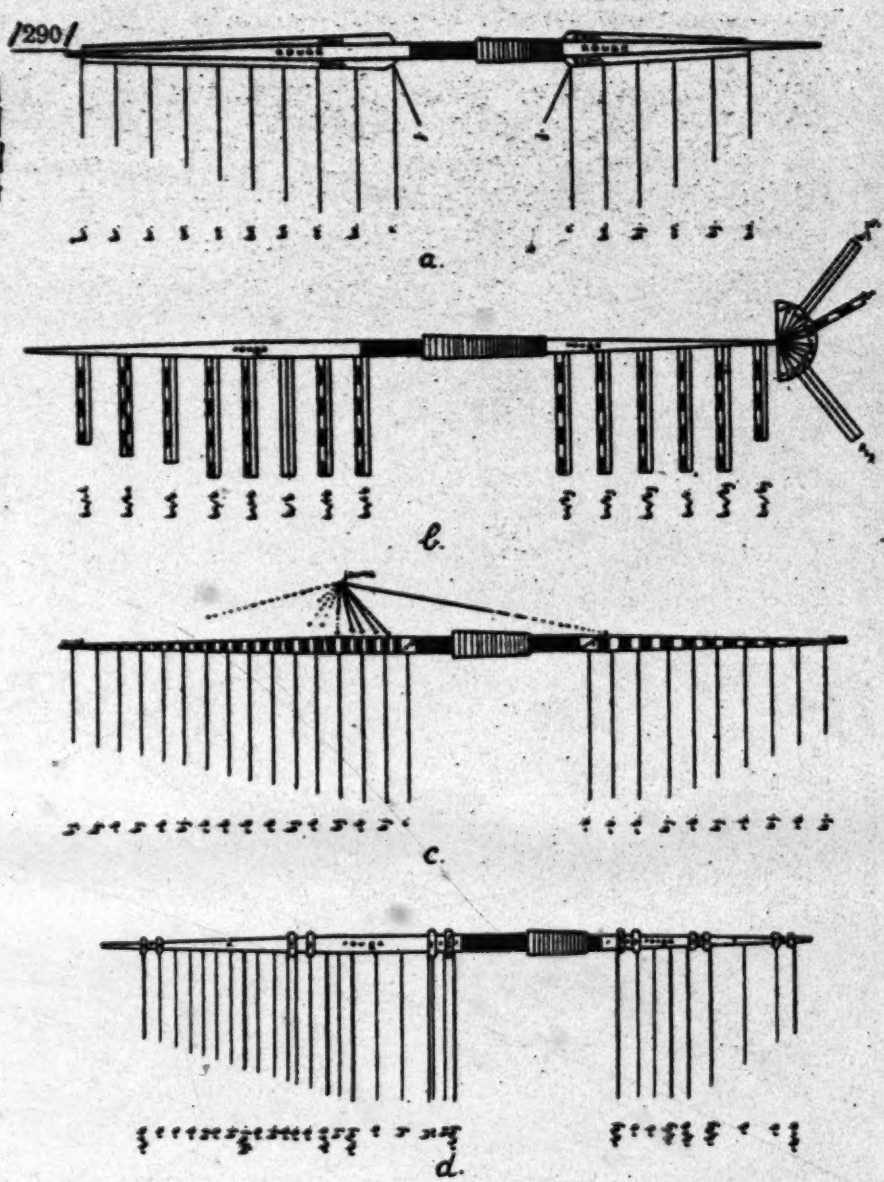

Fig. 17. Ceremonial bows.

/291 cont./

411 The wood of specimen D is bare, and the clan marking is
531 formed by notches cut in the arrow feathers. This process is
614 rather rarely used.

[239] B is adorned with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills, decorated with red feathers and tufts of red and white quill feathers. This formula is repeated in most of the objects of the Bakoro and Bóro clan, who doubtless got it after the disappearance /292/ /Figure 18 appears here/ /293/ /Figure 19 appears here/ /294/ of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and today use it in preference to its own formula (H) (see Note II /p. 41/.

I and L constitute two variants of the Āróre colors (red and black). Such variations are extremely frequent. Each individual interprets his clan's formula in his own way.

531 The colors blue and yellow (A), separate or together,
614 generally characterize the Paiwe clan. But the mark of this clan seems to lie less in the use of certain colors than in a certain process of distribution of the colors in alternating bands of equal or different lengths. Thus, a feather-covered fishbone
[301] pendant of the Paiwe clan presents the following distribution
[239] (short bands in small letters, long bands in capitals):

BLUE-red-blue-red-blue-red-BL. -y.-b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-y.-b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-r.-b.-r.-B.

[534] The same decorative process is found on a Paiwe ceremonial trumpet with alternating colors red, blue, black, and white.

291 Ornaments. The Bororo of the male sex live completely nude, with the exception of various ornaments and a penis band
[283] (bá). This indispensable accessory is made of a ribbon of palm-tree fiber, about 50 cm. long, first folded back on itself for 10 cm., and then tied twice in such a way as to form a conical loop open at its end. This loop covers the end of the penis, and the foreskin, pulled outside through the terminal opening, forms a bulging part and holds the whole (Pl. VII, C /see p. 45/). Once the double loop has been made, a piece of ribbon remains free, from eight to 16 cm. long; this piece is cut level with the
ooo loop in the bá for everyday wear. In contrast, on ceremonial

[Text continues on p. 33]

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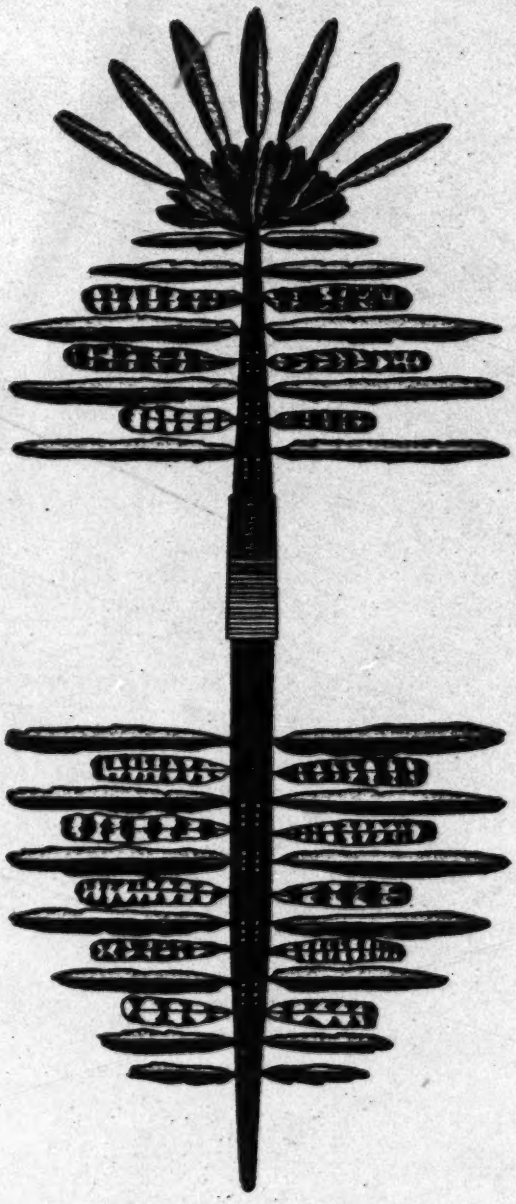

Fig. 18.—Ceremonial bow /in color in original/.

/295 cont./

301 614 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round, pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin.
[292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the Bokodori-Čiba-Kõge, and the labial pendant of his clan.

[237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of mother-of-pearl incrusted in the resin casing.

301 237 614 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows) on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C). The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills, the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are
[534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika and poᵃri), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki); the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

616 One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry,
[534] resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarers
[973] /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 ap-
[302] pears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates at the same time this instrument, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and per-
614 haps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms
562 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Áróre, who are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[Text continues on P. 36]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Women wear a gray perineal band,
or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92, *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

232 **Feathers.**—The *Bororo* practiced tapirage; they plucked out part of the arara plumage, rubbed into the bare spots the sap of some species of tree, and thus produced yellow feathers.

285 323 415 [462] **Basketry and pottery.**—The women make baskets and plain pots. The water vessels, which sometimes have a neck, are characterized by

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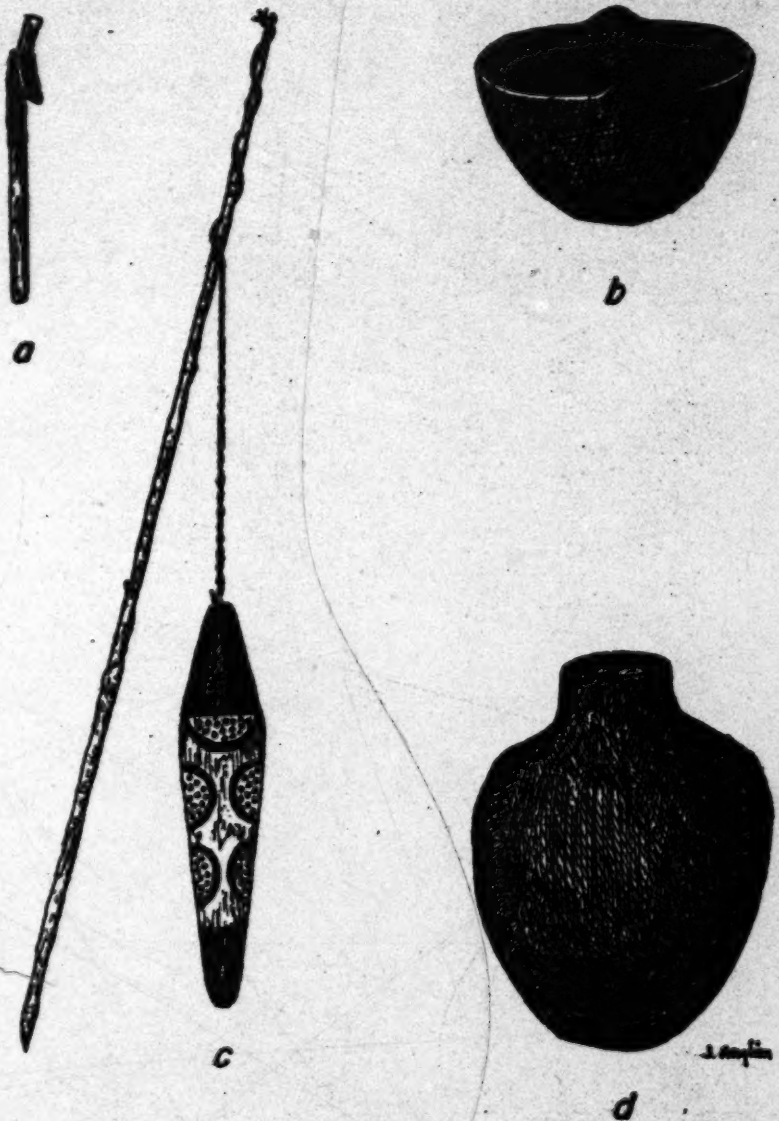

FIGURE 52.—*Bororo* manufactures. *a*, Gouge made of hafted rodent teeth; *b*, *d*, pottery vessels; *c*, bull-roarer. (Redrawn from Von den Steinen, 1894.)

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

a narrow opening and either a pointed or a spherical bottom. Cooking pots are hemispherical. The wide and shallow dishes now seen, as well as cups with handles, are all innovations due to White influence (figs. 51, *c–h*; 52, *b*, *d*).

Weapons.—Bows and arrows, the principal weapons, vary considerably according to use and represent the acme of *Bororo* craftsmanship. The bow, averaging 6 feet 3 inches (1.9 m.) in length, may exceed 6 feet 6 inches (2 m.), is pointed at the ends, and decorated with feathers; the string is of palm fiber. Arrows, which were from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.) in length, have a cane or palm-wood shaft; the heads are of bamboo or bone, and sometimes bear barbs (fig. 53, *a–e*).

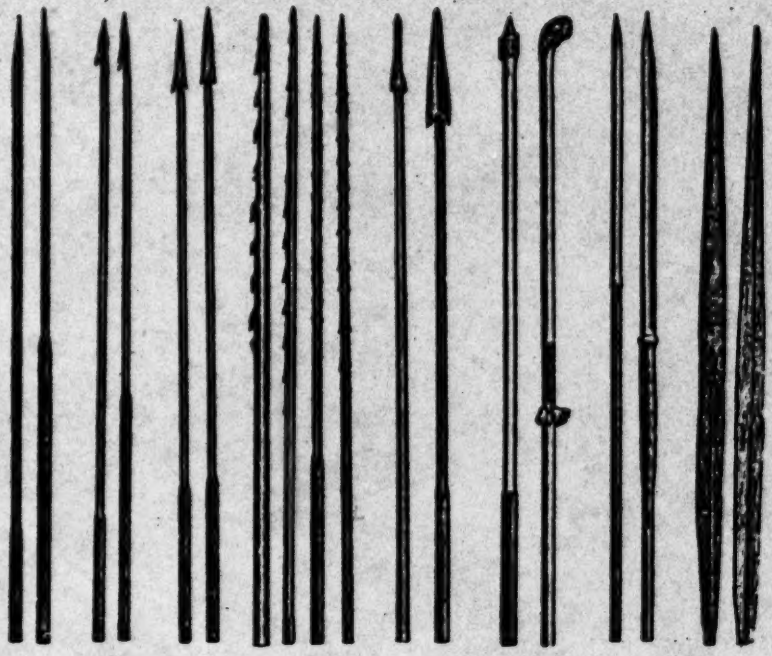

FIGURE 53.—*Bororo* arrow points. *a*, Sharpened rod foreshafts; *b*, rod foreshafts with bone barb attached; *c*, foreshafts with socketed bone point; *d*, foreshafts with lateral carved barbs; *e*, carved wooden points; *f*, foreshafts with knobbed tips for birds; *g*, war arrows with bamboo heads; *h*, large bamboo blades (⅛ natural size). (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

Common hunting arrows have a wooden foreshaft set in a cane shaft, the head (of tapir or monkey bone) being attached to the foreshaft. Arrows used for hunting jaguars have a shaft of seriba-palm wood which rests in a groove of the flat, 2-foot (0.6 m.) long bamboo point

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

(fig. 53, *g*, *h*), being loosely attached with rosin and cord. Bird arrows have a blunt tip (fig. 53, *f*). The groove is chiseled with capybara teeth, which are up to 3 inches (7.6 cm.) long. For releasing the arrow, the archer draws the string with his right middle and ring fingers while the index finger and thumb firmly hold the notch (pl. 86, *top*). The lower part of ceremonial arrows is decorated with feather patterns emblematic of clans (fig. 54); the Porcupine clansfolk, e. g., use a specific arrangement of blue and yellow. All arrows have two spirally twisted feathers, their tops and butt ends being tied on. Wrist-guards are manufactured out of human hair.

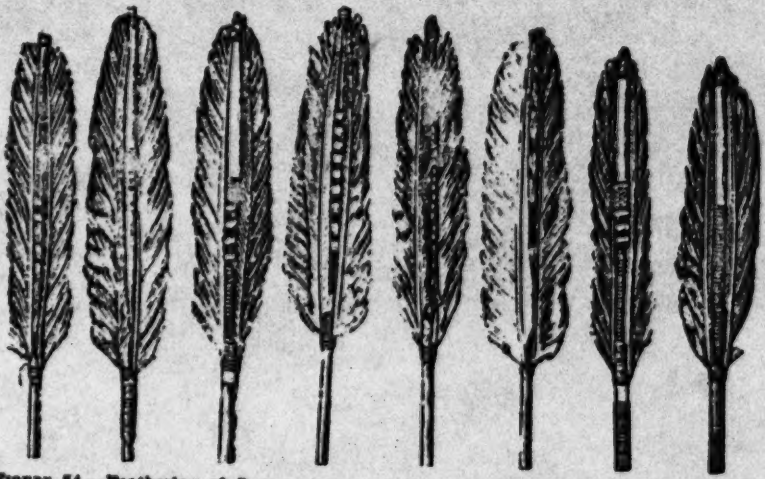

FIGURE 54.—Feathering of *Bororo* arrows. Arched (eastern Brazilian) feathering type. Shafts are decorated with feather tufts. (⅓ natural size.) (After Colbacchini.)

Miscellaneous.—Fire was formerly drilled with a composite shaft of wild Canella and wild cinnamon (*Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus*) wood. Bamboo splinters served to cut meat held in the mouth; the scraper consisted of a capybara tooth mounted on a stick (fig. 52, *a*); and the *Bulimus* conch was used for a plane. Colbacchini (1925) notes that knives and planes are moved toward the body. Von den Steinen (1894) refers to grooved stone axes as things of the past, but they are pictured without comment by Colbacchini (1925).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The *Eastern Bororo* are divided into exogamous, matrilineal moieties, respectively linked with the north and the south side of the village. At Kejara these major divisions bear the untranslated names "Chera" and "Tugare," whose phonetic equivalents Colbacchini (1925) renders as "Weak" and "Strong." The moieties have reciprocal

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally. It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging in direct activities for subsistence.

Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching stick—lest their hair turn white.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

(1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupulously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, announcing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

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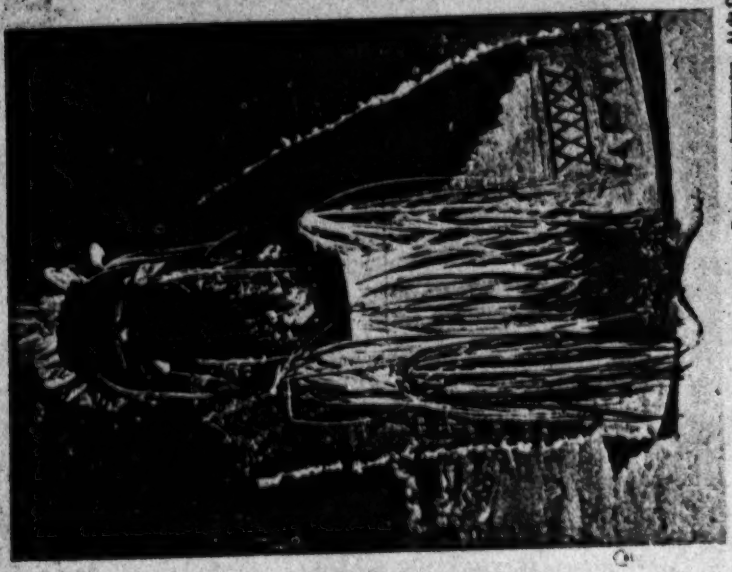

PLATE 68.—Bororo paper impressions. At the Campanha. Print and true views. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P. 432-G]

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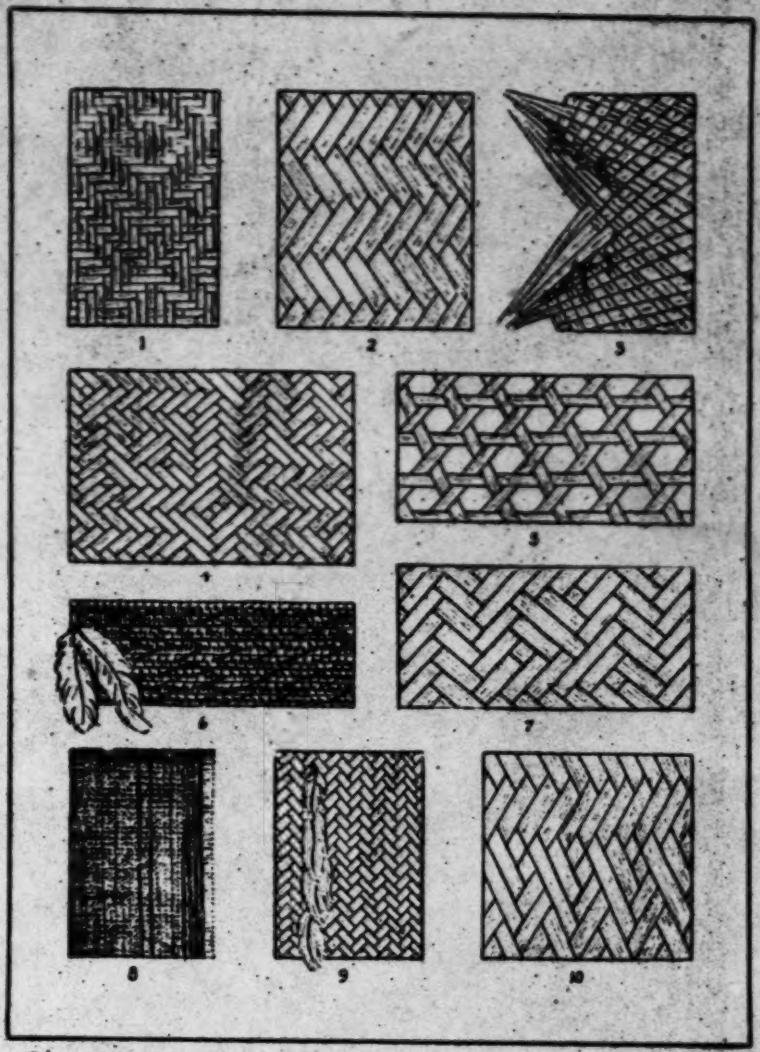

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[For captions, see cat. 116, p. 88]

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Yaruma SP25
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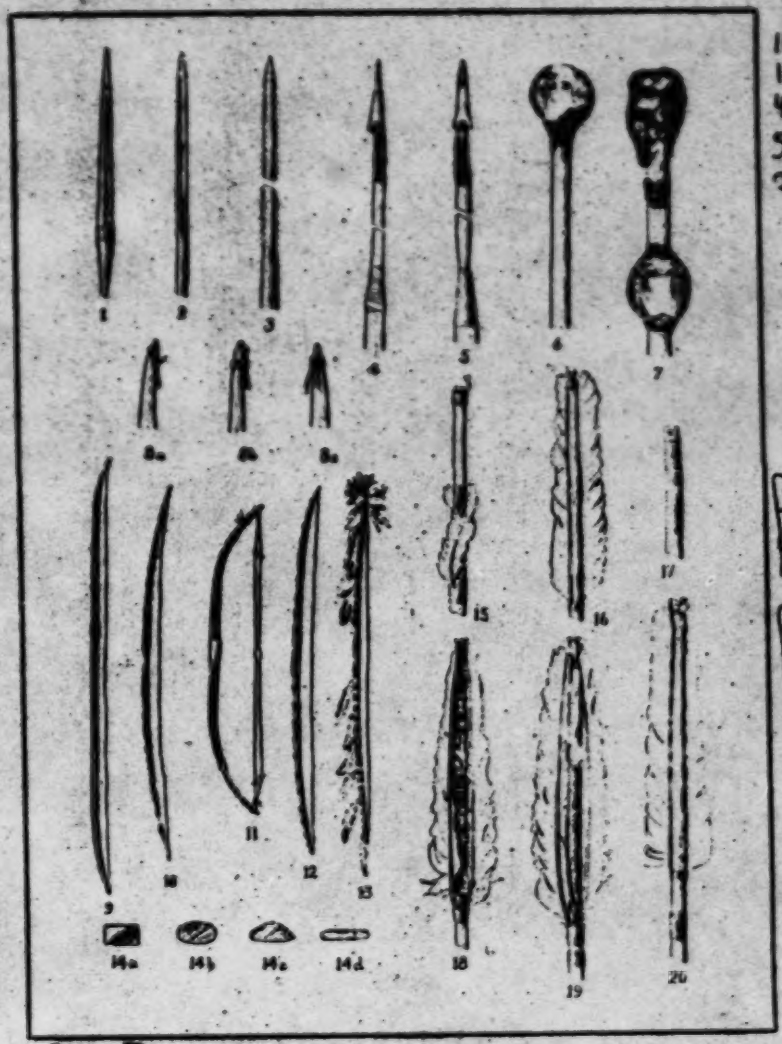
PLATE XXIII



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[P. 179]

[for captions, see cat. 116, pp 88-89]

gives him the paraphernalia of Bakororo, the cultural hero who first introduced the custom of namegiving among the Bororo and who now presides over the world of the spirits in the West. When the namegiver is ready, he approaches the child dancing and playing the ika.[1]

In the evening the namegiver makes a speech in the village plaza explaining what is going to happen throughout the night. He also orders the child's father's brothers to paint the child and to adorn him with white down. Then he asks the child's mother to bring the baby boy; he invokes Bakororo to play ika, pana, poari[2] for the boy to make him handsome and strong. Then they sing, starting with the songs of the child's clan and continuing with those of the other clans, until the dawn of the next day. During the singing, the women pass the child from one to the other so that each of them holds the child on her lap for some time. At dawn the father's brothers paint and adorn the child while his mother and mother's mother cry. The namegiver again represents Bakororo and plays the ika. He approaches the child, held on the lap of the child's father's brother and pierces his lower lip with a special instrument (baragara).

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[1] The ika, a kind of trumpet, is the special instrument of Bakororo.

[2] The pana, a wind instrument made from a double calabash and blown mainly for rhythm, is the special instrument of Itubore; the poari, a kind of pipe with a reed vibrator and a gourd resonator, is the special instrument of the dead.

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In Bororo ceremonial performances the actors representing female animals are frequently painted white or ornamented with white feathers. The relationship between subclans is, then, expressed through the opposition of black and white. For example, bakuguma choreu (black falcon) belongs to the Black Aroroe, bakuguma tororeu (white falcon) to the Red; aroe echeba choreu (black harpy eagle) belongs to the Black Apiborege, aroe echeba tororeu (white harpy eagle) to the Red; aere choreu (black goatsucker) to the Black Paiwoe, aere tororeu (white goatsucker) to the Red.

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The older - younger opposition itself is occasionally displayed in ceremonial performances. Adult animals belong to older brothers, young animals to younger brothers. Parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) is ancestor of the Black Apiborege, parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) is ancestor of the Red. In addition to the female tapir, the ancestor of the Red Kiye is the baby tapir (ki onaregedu). In this context onaregedu does not refer to a genealogical relation between father or mother and child, but only to the age distinction between an adult and a young. At any time the term onaregedu can be replaced by oro, which means young of the same kind: marido oro are the young sprouts of buriti palm.

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The kurireu (big)-kugurireu (small) distinction also finds expression in ceremonial performances reflecting the differences between ancestors attributed to subclans. Buturoe (a kind of larvae) kurireu are ancestors of Kiye

614 are narrow and close to each other. The festive bow of the
301 Ivagududoge, Jakomea ika, is similarly ornamented with suc-
[561] cessive rings of red and yellow feathers. Again the broad rings on the bow distinguish the Black Ivagududoge from their younger brothers, whose bow has narrower rings. Thus, the length of ornaments or the spacing of designs on objects is another feature which distinguishes subclans.

614 The festive bows of many clans are ornamented with long
237 colored feathers. If all the feathers are red, the bow be-
411 longs to the subclan of older brothers; if red and yellow
822 feathers are mixed, the bow belongs to the subclan of younger
[561] brothers. This is the case with Aturua ika, Heriri ika, Pai ika, and Kudora ika of the Paiwoe, Arigao ika of the Ivagu-
614 dudoge, etc. The same division of colors is characteristic
822 of other ornamental objects. If the colors used are black
301 and red, the objects painted black belong to the more important subclan, those painted red to the less important one. Head ornaments made of cut pieces of snails attached to a cotton band belong to the Aroroe. The band of the Big Aroroe is painted black, that of the Small Aroroe is red.

614 The color red is sometimes the prerogative of Black
822 subclans and sometimes of Red subclans, depending on which other color it stands in opposition to. Compared to black, red is less important; compared to yellow, it is more important. Colors used in the Bororo ornaments are hierarchically ordered from black to white:

614 choreu - kujaqureu or urugureu - ekureu - kigadureu or tororeu
822 black - ——— red ——— - yellow - ——— white

822 Black always belongs to older brothers; but if red and yellow
[561] or red and white are in opposition, then red belongs to older brothers. Mixture of colors also follows the same order. Black is more important than the mixture of black and red, which is more important than pure red, etc. Occasionally the black-white opposition is used for items which are distinguished by different colors outside of ceremonial domain.
[796] For example: fresh palm leaves are kaworureu (blue or green), dry palm leaves are ekureu (yellow), but when the same leaves are used in ceremonies as festive skirts, the fresh leaves become toro choreu (black skirt), which belongs to the Black Kiye, and the dry leaves become toro kigadureu (white skirt), which belongs to the Red Kiye.

822 Yet another distinction between older and younger brothers is made by the presence or absence of certain ornamental components or by the number of these components. Avogodori ika, a trumpet of the Black Apiborege, is not only adorned exclusively with red feathers but has on its ends and in the middle two long feathers of kuruguqwa (a kind of hawk). The Avogodori ika of the Red Apiborege is ornamented with red and yellow feathers and has only one feather of kuruguqwa at its ends and in the middle. Batagaje, a crown made of black feathers of cormorant, is the property of many clans. The batagaje of the Black Paiwoe is black with two stripes of yellow feathers, that of the Red Paiwoe has only one yellow

822 stripe. The same distinction is made between the crown of
614 the Black Aroroe and that of the Red, except that in this
237 case the stripes are red instead of yellow. In addition, the Black Aroroe have added to their crown a horn made of a long cormorant feather, which is missing from the crown of their younger brothers.

614 It has been mentioned before that the Bororo do not like to talk about Bakorokudu (Badajeba Chebegiwu) and Akaruyo Bokodori (Badajeba Chobugiwu) in terms of the older-younger brother relationship because of the differential value that it would put on the activities they command. On the other hand, in many contexts these activities are differently valued, and additional data show that the two brothers are
614 not equal. First of all, they received their prerogatives
773 and their chiefly status from Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Boroge (Black Apiborege). Of the two, Baitogogo is clearly defined as the older in many myths and stories. Most of
[301] the time only the deeds of Baitogogo are reported. He was
[304] the one who taught the Bororo to perforate their lips, their ears, and their noses so that they could insert ornaments.
[291] He taught them how to cover their nakedness with the penis sheath in the initiation ceremony, and he ordered them to live in peace. He was the first chief, and all important cultural acts were done first by him. At the end of any story relating his greatness, the Bororo usually add that Boroge did just the same (Boroge rore ino jamedu). Baitogogo was also the first Bakororo, and Boroge the first Itubore.

The ornaments on top
796 of the big wheel are black (kuje bo—curassow feathers), the
613 ornaments on top of the smaller wheel are white (kiogwagiri-
[237] bird down). Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori play ika above the wheels. Bakorokudu plays it above marido imedu, Akaruyo Bokodori above marido aredu. The spirits who carry the big wheel come from Bakororo (the older brother who presides over the place of the dead on the West); the spirits carrying the smaller wheel come from Itubore (the younger brother who presides over the place of the dead on the East). Finally, Bakorokudu lines up the spirits from the West on the Bakororo side (West) of the men's house, and Akaruyo Bokodori lines up the spirits from the East on the Itubore side (East) of the men's house.

614 Many other oppositions are patterned in a similar way.
192 We have already seen that adjectives distinguish personal names of subclans. Choreu (black), kaworu (blue or green), kurireu (big), and are (owner) are added to the names of members of Black subclans; kujagureu (red), ekureu (yellow), kugurireu (small), and oro (young) are added to the names of
821 members of Red subclans. Meri (the sun) and Ari (the moon) are major protagonists of many Bororo stories, and they are
616 conceived as older and younger brothers. There are stories
823 about the creation of the rivers according to which the wa-
[773] ters created by the Tugarege have died, while those created by the Echerae are still flowing. For this reason the banks of the rivers belong to the Echerae and are divided between the subclans of older and younger brothers: "The long sandy

These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black Araroe) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged. The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety of items that could be exchanged:

Bakororo and his paraphernalia:

imo ke (an ornament resembling a huge racket, which is worn during the Ke ceremony)

uku ika (a musical instrument)

pariko (a headdress made of macaw feathers)

baragara (an animal bone which is used to perforate the lower lip of a male child in the naming ceremony)

okwadawu "meriri bokodaga" (one kind of labret)

biyadawu "chuqui biri" (earrings made out of a bird breast)

enotadawu "kurugugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejera and his paraphernalia:

imo irogodu (body painting)

imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is worn during ceremonies)

imo pariko (a headdress)

Aroe are not bound to any particular time of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day. Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think about themselves as being in the center of the village. The village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was arigao bororo, the dogs' village. It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

The distinction between human and animal, and assexuality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions between Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an

them their names. The learning of names continues even when people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most important material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo themselves are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends. The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made of macaws' feathers and called Chibae e yari "nest of the red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves into the fire and became different species of macaws.

Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge, who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the villages of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties, clans, subclans and lineages, and established yorubodare relationships among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed aroe echeba (the harpy eagle), kuruqugwa (a kind of hawk), buyogoe (piranhas),

denied water burial.[1]

If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature; it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries. She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is also there, playing the ika: the Aroe are acknowledging the arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society. After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

/152 cont./

562 she who commands."

121 562 If we want to investigate the importance of the adornment in the situation of the sexes, we have to ask first when does it serve for proclaiming the adorned individual to the other sex or to his own, and when for showing him superior to the other sex or to his own. But before trying to obtain an answer to such questions, it is necessary to distinguish the adornment conditioned by the society from the adornment originated by the individual.

301 Among the Bororo we can designate as "social adornment" the decorating with the peculiar ornaments of the different clans and with the ornament of plumes connected with religio-collective purposes. The large crown of arara feathers, called pariko, the chest ornament which consists of claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/, and all the various kinds of lip pendants belong to the male sex. The ear lobes, however, are pierced for both sexes, for the purpose of adorning them, that is, as Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 474) mentions, among the lads by the father, as soon as they are eight to ten years of age and begin seriously to prove their skill as a hunter, and among the girls (K. von den Steinen, o.c., p. 501), as we have already seen, as a kind of a signal of a marriage promise by the future husband (4).

[237] [304] [856]

4. Let us present here the metal earrings. Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 100) describes a man with this earring in his ear. The Bororo assured me that certain clans wore and wear this ear ornament made of shells, but /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ others made theirs out of a metal which the tribe formerly possessed. They say that this metal

/152 cont./

301 The earring without a tooth, represented in Figure 2, belongs to the clan of the Paĭ-we; the one with a tooth, in Figure 3, is from the clan of the Dyakome(r)-koadda.

[237] It is probable that the shape of these earrings might have been taken from the chest ornament made with the claws of the tatú canastra /armadillo/ (Priodontes giganteus) called bokodori inoge (bokodori: tatú canastra; inoge: claw), and represented various times by Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, p. 50) and by Karl von den Steinen (o.c.).

[306] I saw a Bororo in Sangradouro also make a chest ornament in the shape and with the size of the bokodori inoge, but out of a sheet of tin plate. I was not able to find out whether this shape has any connection with the moon.

/153/ We may consider as "individual adorning" among the Bororo the use of transverse cords on the chest and of the narrow woven ribbons on the arms. Both sexes, /154/ adults and children, are in the habit of wearing them occasionally in order to, as I was assured, be protected from illnesses.

[562] [751]

It seems that the chest ornament made out of animals' teeth serves for the same purpose. Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 479) wrote about this ornament: "Only very rarely does it happen that women also receive these ornaments, which probably results from the change by the colonization, because it is said that among the other Bororo it is common

[237] [751] [562]

/154 cont./
301 for only the men to adorn themselves." -- I saw this
562 decoration on the woman and children as well as on the men.

/155/ Also, neither among the Bororo nor among other Indian tribes, is it "common" that only the men adorn themselves. Precisely Karl von den Steinen relates (o.c., pp. 476 and 502) that the young girls in the men's house are painted and decorated with the greatest care. [237] And Colbacchini (o.c., p. 15) says: "Men and women decorate the head with plumes and feathers." -- It is true that these cases are examples of "individual adornment" [836] and not of "social adornment." Among the majority of [593] the Indian tribes we found one pair of lovers who reciprocally adorned each other, especially by means of painting; one also notices that the parents adorn the children of both [171] sexes. Among the Tapirapé, the equality in the "individual adornment" goes to the point that man and woman, for many couples, alternately wear the same bead necklaces on the neck.

But the adorning of the Indian woman is not, always and everywhere, limited to "individual adornment." In many tribes, the young girl, at the end of the first [171] menstruation, is solemnly adorned. Among the Tapirapé, after menstruation the women renew the body painting [613] typical of the female sex. Among the Bororo, the woman wear earrings which have value as clan badges. All this is "social adornment."

Considering the adornment of the Bororo as a unit, we confirm that the major part of the "social adornment" falls to the man, while both sexes dedicate themselves in equal proportions to "individual adornment." It seems, however, that the question as to when the /156/ adornment of those Indians serves to proclaim the adorned individual to the

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

WOODEN FLUTES, ornamented with bird down and feathers, figure prominently in the ceremonies, as do whistles, and rattles and trumpets made from gourds.

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[p. 43-A]

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[237]

back to the village. Its claws and teeth are pried loose and made into ornaments to be kept as mementos by the close kin of the deceased. The hunter is rewarded with a necklace made of shells and nuts, an elaborately decorated bow, and arrows. The animal is skinned and the inner surface of the pelt is decorated with black paint specially prepared by the shaman. This is presented to the relatives of the deceased in a series of rituals that involve singing and dancing.

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The night of the kill, one of the village leaders conducts a dance to the accompaniment of songs addressed to the spirit of the jaguar. With the jaguar hide on his shoulders, a chief or a shaman leads the ritual intended to appease the dead jaguar, while the people of the village dance. Men, women, and children all perform this very important ritual, which continues far into the night. At first many people

[text continues on p. 45-A]

[p. 44-B]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

family came to us often, saying "*Nagareda by—tapira.*" (My child die. I would like a piece of beef.) Sometimes he begged for other things, saying, for example, "My child die; I would like a handkerchief, red." 123 764

The smart young men of the tribe, who, like their civilized brothers, are fond of dress and display, wear suspended from a hole in the lower lip, a chain of bright shells six inches long, terminating in a brilliant crimson feather. But the older men, who no longer care for fashion and show, discard this ornament and wear only a wooden plug in the hole, as they are unable to drink when it is open, it being very large. 301 [304]

The young women, and girls over six years of age, wear a kind of corset made of the inner bark of a tree. It looks much like the sides of a cheese box, is twelve inches broad, hard and stiff. It must be very uncomfortable when first worn. In addition to this primitive corset, the females wear a long strip of soft inner bark eight inches broad and resembling brown canvas, which is specially prepared. It is passed between the legs, and each end, at the back and in front, is tucked in between the upper edge of the corset and the body. It is made of the same kind of bark as that used by the Karayá, but does not drop down in front, apron-fashion, as with the Karayá. Adorned with these articles, the females consider themselves fully and decently dressed, and would not think of appearing in public without them. 291 289 [171]

Crescents, evidently in veneration of the moon, are worn constantly by both sexes, suspended from the neck; also rows, six or eight inches long, of monkey, tiger or wolverine teeth. They seemed to prize these decorations very highly, and were always loathe to part with them. The huge horn claws of the *tatú canástro*, the giant armadillo, are also much valued, and worn hanging from the neck. 301 237

Many of the men wear, wound around the head, a rope ten or fifteen yards long, made by braiding together human hair which was cut off or jerked out during funeral ceremonies. The men also tied the bright-colored handkerchief, obtained 301 [283] [164]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

765 That same night, at the midnight hour, while the village slept, the decomposing remains were lifted, supposedly by the *bopi*, or by men acting secretly under their orders, for no one is supposed to know the ghouls. They may be appointed by the sorcerer, or by the captains; or are volunteers as heretofore indicated. These men lift the fetid mass by means of the pole that passes inside the roll and protrudes from each end of the mound, carry it to the river and clear the bones of the flesh as best they can; then packing the bones in a basket, deposit them in the great hut, where they are found when the village awakes at dawn, ready for the final ceremonies. At the funeral rites I witnessed, the skull had been kept separate from [237] the rest of the bones, and resting on a palm-leaf tray, partly buried in white down, was being overlaid with bright feathers, plucked from the breast of the macaw, while the *bakororó* was being sung. As the deceased was the little daughter of one of the chief men, the remains were treated with special honors.

At the *méri rútu*—the birth of the sun—the following morn- [533] ing, the demoniacal din and tumult of the savage choir, chorus [785] and orchestra, as of a hundred wild beasts in deadly combat, [302] was again unchained in the gloomy interior of the great hut; and the female relatives and friends of the departed burst forth anew with loud lamentations, and wept, wailed and muttered, and vociferated like the laughter of hyenas, and slashed their bodies afresh with jagged edged shells until they were daubed with gore, and again smeared themselves with the black slush. These fearsome and sickening scenes, and smells, and sounds, especially when witnessed at night in the sepulchral darkness that reigned within the great hut, could not fail to powerfully affect one who had never before listened to a hallelujah chorus in hell, and to make impressions upon the mind that can never be effaced.

The second part of the funeral *bakororó*, or ceremony, with [224] the bones present, may continue without a recess for two or three days and nights, with the exception, perhaps, of one intermission of eight or ten hours for a fishing expedition, the primitive tragedians relieving one another from time to time.

2: Steinen--i E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

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Bororó chief.

2: Steinen--588 E1 D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

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Bororó with feathers pasted on.

/475 cont./

304 Tattooing was unknown; scars of cuts, casually colored, were not unusual. We did not see instruments analogous to the scarifier of the Kulisehu Indians. The skin was not torn for medical purposes, but simply scratched, as everybody does, if it /476/ itched, and there was even a special implement for scratching the back, 21 centimeters long, a bone which was adorned with ostrich feathers, cf. Fig. 132 /see p. 591/, and was also used to advantage by the freely perspiring festival dancers. Scars of cuts were the result of the death ceremonies.

301 Painting and feather ornamentation played a role, the former an insignificant one, the latter a tremendously important one. 512 Waehneldt, not without justification, speaks of the "almost daily festivals" of the Bororó. The remark was also perfectly applicable to our Indians, and, to be sure, simply because even every hunt was begun with dance and song. Then the girl dragged into the men's house was most carefully painted by her friends. Finally, gluing feathers on oneself was a "medicine" practiced day after day. Intermittent fever often occurred in the colony, children were always doéte /sick/ (Portuguese doente), and thus it was simply impossible for us to see where the boundary lay between medicine and ornamentation. The painful parts of the body were smeared with heated almeisca resin and had down feathers thickly pasted over them. We saw children who had complete sleeves of small white duck-feathers. The color resin was black. In order to paste feathers on the face, a finger-wide adhesive strip was put on along the hair line and the ends bound beside the ears, sometimes with a cross-strip running between nose and lips so that, if the strip were wide and nothing was glued on it, one seemed to see a half-mask cut out to make a frame. The gum-frame originally designed for feathers was also used without glued-on feathers.

Plate 27 /see p. 588/ shows us a Bororó festively pasted with feathers. The arms are entirely covered with small green parrot-feathers, as is the adjoining part of the chest; above the navel there is a small strip of feathers, and on the back, I may add, a part of the shoulders and an area the width of a hand in the small of the back were pasted over. The black gum-frame on the face

/476 cont./
759 has already lost some of its initial beauty and feathering; a cross-
237 strip glued with pure white feathers extends from ear to ear, like
301 a huge moustache. The hair is smeared with urucú, and the front
[302] edge has red arara feathers thickly glued to it; red-smeared tufts
stand out on both sides. The upper part of the head, around the
tonsure, is adorned with a small red crown of arara feathers, and
scattered around it, a handful of small feathers is only loosely
pasted on. In the case of women who were ill we not infrequently
saw small areas with feathers pasted on them; Maria appeared one
day, complaining of fever, and was being more energetically
treated with this remedy, for she had it applied to hair, face,
[302] and chest. The wife of a hunter who was returning after a long
absence had had her face and hair painted like the ranchão girls
for the welcome, and the skin of her upper body transformed
765 into a feather jacket open at the front. The skull of the skeleton-
ized deceased has feathers pasted on it, similar to the ornamenta-
tion of the Bororó on Plate 27, before the final burial, whereas
the rest of the /477/ bones are smeared with urucú oil. I am
unable to say whether in this adornment the desperate unlikely
hope of a favorable medical result was a contributing factor.

302 The daily daubing with oily soot and urucú, as on the Schingú
531 /Xingu/, did not occur. Also, the dyestuffs are not used for any
237 implement other than the whizzer sticks; instead of them, one
saw feathers on bodies as well as on implements everywhere on
136 the S. Lourenço. Also missing, however, was the plague of
mosquitoes and biting flies; the only insects we saw or heard
in the colony were the countless crickets rustling in the maize
302 supply. The urucú, of which there was only very little, was
[237] mixed with fish oil. They used it only in the most sparing
[386] amounts, just as the painting with black on the gum-frame and
the blackening of the face and body with soot when one set out
against the Kayapó were limited. The ranchão girl was painted
with urucú for the night; she sat on a red coverlet, and beside her
lay a shell with fish oil and a piece of urucú paste. The hair
was thickly smeared, the upper body was also given a daubing,
but the chief thing, on which a great deal of time was spent,

/477 cont./

302 was the painting of the face with a stalk or a slender bamboo stick. Thus, the forehead was not painted with one stroke, but rather the stick, saturated with color, was put on and squeezed off, a stripe gradually being laid across the forehead with this procedure. The lids were also colored, the upper lid well into the fold. Triangles were painted on the cheeks. I shall come back later to the meaning of the cross-stripe and the triangles, cf. under "Art of Drawing" /see p. 625/, after a discussion of the whizzer sticks, where I shall have an opportunity to speak of designs separately.

● 237 301 Ornamental feather-work, as I should like to call it in contrast to the pasting on of feathers, was furnished in the most magnificent fashion. The chief products of the hunters' art are to be found on Plate I /see p. i/ combined in the case of the chief in gala dress.

The parîko, cf. Fig. 133 /see p. 596/, an enormous radial wheel of blue arara tail-feathers, yellow on the reverse side, rises up on the fore part of the head and tilts forward. The arara feathers, 45 centimeters long, are stuck into a wound bundle of stalks that fits the head and is tied on with a string; the lower fourth of the long feathers is covered with several rows of small red and green parrot-feathers. A small diadem, cf. Plate I, is pulled down over the forehead. On the back of the head, tilted backwards and more arched than the parîko, there projects a diadem equal to it in size and made out of cross-banded falcon feathers, the kurugúgua. From the ears down to the chest hang colorful lappets of small red and yellow feathers, prettily arranged in cross-strips, from the breast of the toucan. (The large beaks of the toucans are also worn.) Bunches of wing feathers from the arara, the parrots, and other ornamental birds hang down from the upper arms, as well as from the bow or from the lip-piercer.

/478/ There are all kinds of other feather ornaments. Special consideration is to be given to the very beautiful nabuleága (nabúre, arara), arara feathers with flowing ostrich feathers and white tufts of down, joined together on a small rod that is stuck into the hole

/478 cont./

237 301 of the ear lobe or into the hair, 56 centimeters long; cf. Fig. 134 /see p. 597/. In like manner, a frame of little rods, marobóro, egg-shaped like the rattle-gourd, was stuck in the hair; the frame had white down glued over it and a red arara tail feather fastened on the top. Finally, the feather-decorated chignons of the Bororó men should be mentioned.

Fig. 133. Parîko feather-diadem. Bororó. (1/9 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The knot of hair was wound with a feather wreath or densely studded with feathers projecting in rays; see Plate 29 /see p. 633/, the Bororó in the foreground.

/478 cont./

239 301 Teeth were primarily worked into chest ornaments; the most popular ones were large jaguar teeth, usually two pairs plaited together, and small monkey teeth, several transverse rows of which were joined into a piece up to 30 centimeters wide /479/ extending almost across the entire chest; cf. Plate I /see p. 1/ and Fig. 129 /see p. 589/. It was extremely seldom that women were also given these ornaments and, since it is usually reported of the other Bororó that only the men adorned themselves, is probably to be traced back to the upheaval caused by the colonization. It was characteristic that the Indian-thinking and Portuguese-speaking Clemente called the teeth plaited together rosarios, rosaries; in connection with this ornament, the Indians had the idea that it makes one strong and agile. [127] They also extracted teeth from Brazilian prisoners and hung these around themselves; lower jaws of the enemy were worn in the same way. [283] They also promised themselves protection [165] from hair of the dead, which was spun into thread and then plaited into cords which were very difficult to obtain; bunches of hair hung down, along with the feathers, from the arm bands.

Fig. 134. Arara ear-feather. Bororó. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 135. Chest ornament of armadillo claws. Bororó. (1/3 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

/479 cont./

237 301 Claws, small ones from rodents and large ones from armadillos, were put together by twos and thus formed the shape of a half-moon; in the center, where they were joined and covered with resin, hung a bunch of strings, while a few shell ringlets were pressed into the resin.

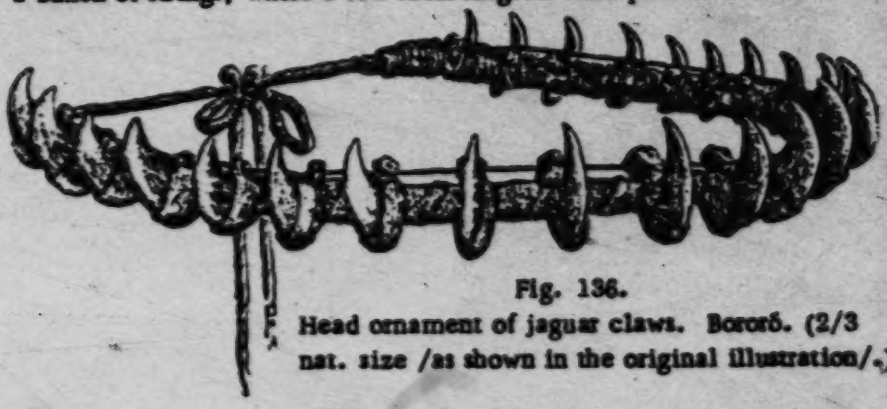


Fig. 136.
Head ornament of jaguar claws. Bororó. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[171] We found the claws of the giant armadillo on the Kulisehu in a very similar arrangement, not as an ornament, but as a tool /Fig. 135 ap-
[177] pears here; see Fig. 25, page 205. The Bororó imitated the claw ornament by cutting pieces of the same shape and size out of the tin of Brazilian tin cans. The process was very interesting because nothing about the tin half-moons betrayed their origin from two claws, and they were even declared to be proof of the "moon worship" of the Bororó by a Cuyaban, as I discovered to my delight. See Fig. 135 /sic; probably Fig. 129, p. 589, is meant/, the ear ornament of the mother. This was the way the Indians were already working metal. Lip pegs were also cut out of tin.

[171] Jaguar claws were joined together into a head hoop, see Fig. 136, an ornament very similar to the Aueto chief's neck-chain of the same material in Fig. 5, page 90.

/480/ There were chains made of shell- and nut-beads, small pieces of bone, and pierced seed kernels, but they were far less important than on the Schingú. Beads made out of the armadillo carapace were most highly prized. I shall give more details about this in my description of the activity in the men's house. In that connection I shall also discuss the ornamental strings for both sexes, which we called "suspenders."

/483 cont./

411 club, the bow was also the sole weapon of war. It is said of the Bororó dos Campos that they "seldom" had lances, with points of iron, bone, or stone. The club of the S. Lourenço was one and a third meters long, a rather flat piece of palm wood which was three to four centimeters wide and ended in a blade only five to six centimeters wide.

No. 5 in Figure 137 /see p. 605/ shows us the ordinary bow, baíga. It is up to 1.9 meters long and, at a width of a third of a [283] meter, is wound with a palm-fiber cord, a reserve bowstring that usually forms the continuation of the stretched bowstring; cf. Plate 411 28 /see p. 600/. The bows carried on festive occasions by chiefs ●237 and regarded as ceremonial gifts, the ornamentation of which [554] is shown on No. 1, have magnificent feather ornaments. The wood has colorful small arara feathers pasted over it, either red and yellow or blue and yellow, with white down in between, and the end held up is crowned with a tuft of like-colored feathers. The colorful tuft sometimes also adorns the ordinary hunting bow. 411 The fortunate slayer of a jaguar, finally, is distinguished by the [531] bow of No. 2; on it are put a dozen small yellow bands of [554] oaussú palm leaf (Attalea spectabilis). The bows have a rather [824] flat back, whereas the surface facing the bowstring is more convex, the opposite of the Paressí bows.

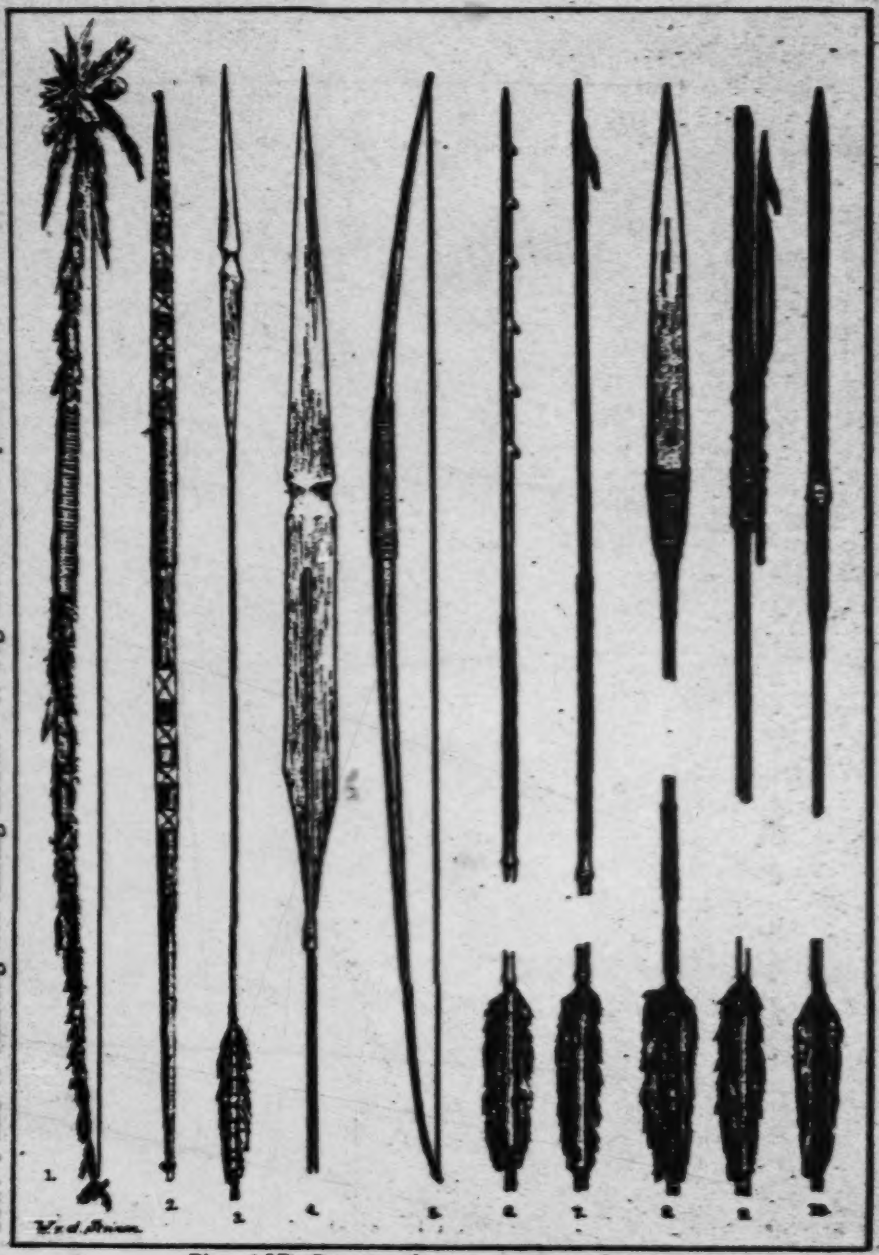
[824] The arrows have a shaft either of kambayuva reed or of the elegant black seriba palm straw (Avicennia). On the pencil-thin seriba shafts is set an end-piece of reed on which the tail feathers are attached; they are carefully planed with pierced Bulimus shells and more smoothly polished with lischa leaves, which are rough like sandpaper.

/484/ /Fig. 137 appears here./

/485/ Common to all arrows are the two pinions put on with a spiral twist and fastened at the upper and lower end; on the illustrations one can see how the shaft of the feather stands out from the reed of the arrow in a slight curve. A few rings of small, dainty feathers are often also put on between them.

[Text continues on p. 606]

2: Steinen--605 FD-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8



1. Bow of the chief, 2. of the jaguar hunter. 3. Jaguar arrow. 4. Bamboo point of 3. 5. Ordinary bow. 6 and 7. Hunting and fishing arrows. 8. Pig arrow. 9. Harpoon arrow. 10. War arrow.

Fig. 137. Bows and arrows. Bororó.

/485 cont./

411 The arrows are one and a half to one and three-fourths meters long. In the case of the most common type of hunting and fishing arrows pointed sticks of wood are driven into the kambayuva reed and on them sit a sharpened piece of bone. Or a bone is tied on [239] as a barb, No. 7, or the wood is notched, No. 6. The bones come from the monkey or the tapir. For bird hunting, arrows with blunt points are used; they bear a wooden cone, the wider end at the top, and in the center of the surface they are provided with a pointed knob.

Fig. 138. Bororó shooting.

Other arrows have sharpened pieces of bamboo as points; the bamboo is hung in smoke for a long time, so that it dries out sufficiently. The simplest form, which is used in hunting wild pigs, is shown by No. 8.$\frac{1}{4}$ The flat bamboo point, 30-40 centimeters long, two and a half centimeters wide, is lashed to the reed shaft. No. 3 shows the beautiful seriba arrow for hunting jaguars; the entire arrow is one and three-fourths meters long, the feathered end-piece 24 centimeters, the bamboo point 60 centimeters long and three centimeters wide. The seriba shaft rests in a /486/ groove of the flat

$\frac{1}{4}$ [See P. 605--Analyst]

/486 cont./

461 worked so neatly and carefully that the masters of the catechesis should have been delighted. Even the idiot Dyapokuri was incessantly busy, though he would now and then regale the others with a little joke of a voluntary or involuntary nature.

On days when there was no hunting, there were about 40 men
252 happily at work in the baitó. Meanwhile the women would be cooking in the huts and now and then one of the men would disap-
264 pear to fetch food. As soon as he returned and became visible
[152] in the wall there were individual "hm hm" of appreciation, and scarcely had he drawn in his arm holding aloft the steaming dish, appearing last, when, with a general shrill ah! the whole com-
[262] pany would shout for joy. Large pot-bowls were filled with thick, sourish maize mush or maize gruel, and on top /487/ lay large river mussels to be scooped up with a spoon. Then Moguyokuri would stride about, place his strong hand on the thick skulls of a number of young or old, and the chosen ones would squat around the pot and resolutely dig /Figs. 139-140 appear here/ their shell spoons into the mush. Anyone comparing this patriarchal tableau with the scene of the Brazilian meat distribution (page 562) was bound to be filled with righteous indignation at that disgraceful business.

252 The idiot Dyapokuri roasted the beef that was snatched dur-
372 ing the "feeding of the animals." He fetched fire from one of
[177] the huts. Fire no longer had to be kindled by rubbing, because the administration furnished Swedish matches. The original method of the Bororó was the same as on the Kulisehu. Canella brava, Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus, was regarded as the best wood.

412 There was, of course, no longer anything to be seen of stone
[179] axes and cutting fish teeth; axes and knives were present in abundance. But all kinds of things from the old days were still
[237] to be observed. For instance, the Bororó, when they ate, cut off pieces of meat in front of their mouths with bamboo splinters; as a scraping chisel they used the capibara tooth, up to eight centimeters long, fastened to a small stick cf. Fig. 26 /see p. 205/ from the Schingú and, in the present connection, Fig. 139 /see p. 609/; they filed this tooth with the tooth of the paca

/487 cont./

412 (Coelogenys paca), a small rodent; they still planed,
237 polished, and bored in good Indian fashion.

Their plane was a Bulimus shell, ruo, ten centimeters long, cf. Fig. 140 (and Fig. 27 /see p. 206/ from the Schingú), into which sharp-edged holes
322 were struck with an oaussú nut. Moreover, they polished wood, for example the whizzer sticks which were made for the burial ceremony, by rubbing it for a quarter of an hour with a wet, smooth stone. Or they took the rough leaves of the lischa and the imbauba tree. They sat with

Fig. 139. Capybara chisel. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

412 237 284

legs folded and crossed and cut and planed the objects on their foot as a support. On the outer part of the ankle resting on the floor I often felt callous thickenings and even movable pieces as hard as cartilage.
321 Monkey bones for chain ornaments were cut up on their foot, and I constantly feared for their own bones.

Boring was always done with a twirling motion. A nail was fastened to a stick half a meter long and this was twirled between

Fig. 140. Plane-shell. Bororó. (2/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

412 237

the two hands sliding rapidly up and down. In this way they bored through the small shell plates for their lip chains, which they made

/507 cont./

765 In the morning, led by Moguyokuri, a long procession entered the ranchão, all with green twigs in their hands; in the center, the brother of the deceased with the square basket-bag containing the skeleton parts, which had been dug out and cleaned early in the morning. The basket was placed on a mat; four men took out the skull and the lower jaw, which looked smooth and white like the most beautiful specimens, and set about decorating them as well as a new basket-bag with feathers. [302] [301] Moguyokuri sat on a jaguar skin in gala array, skin and hair painted red, an akurí palm branch wrapped around his hips, dark-blue mutung feathers glued on his shoulders, the yellowish red lappets of toucan feathers hanging down from his ears, the most beautiful parîko on his head, the shell chain in the hole of his lower lip. Beside him stood four medicine men [756] adorned with parîkos, who busily shook the rattle-gourds and, rhythmically stamping, jumped up and down, their eyes closed. The entire ranchão was filled with people, chiefly women and children; they joined in the singing and clapped their hands rhythmically. Several of the women stepped up to the bone-basket and laid their hands on it. The oldest woman scratched [785] her arms with broken glass in quick, sharp cuts; the blood dripped on the hands of the others and colored the palm straw of the basket-bag.

[302] [301] The young men in the center first had their lower jaws painted with urucú and covered with white down feathers. Be- [237] side them on the mat they had urucú pigment in an armadillo shell, a little pot containing fish oil, a shell with gum-resin, a mat with little loose white feathers, and a /508/ large bowl filled with little purple feathers. They painted the new basket generously inside and out with urucú, and, while some of them glued feathers on the basket, the others devoted themselves to the skull, into which they set the lower jaw and on which they most carefully pasted the small purple feathers, starting at the back of the skull. Each feather was brushed on the end with a resin stick and set on individually.

301 The principal ornaments used by men consisted of beautifully made feather ear pendants (*imitáta*) [237] about 6 inches long, jaguar-teeth necklaces (*okopó*), necklaces made from human hair (*pasoó*), and cotton arm bands worn above the biceps. A short bamboo lip plug was worn in the lower lip. A crude comb, *putúka*, was made by binding together with human hair four siriva wood spikes about 5 534 inches in length. During dances the men fastened rattles made from tapir and peccary hoofs to their ankles. Women wore feather ear pendants and "store"-bead necklaces. Some of these ornaments are still worn by the old men.

ECONOMICS

AGRICULTURE

241 The traditional food crops of the Umotina included such plants as bitter manioc (*otúyo*), sweet manioc (*otuíyo biboróno*), maize (*omatáka*), black and red beans (*dumatáka*), sweetpotatoes (*balarkúpo*), and cará (*tapatúku*). In addition, they cultivated gourds (*podri*), cotton (*akydmani*), [276] and urucú (*nodókahíriku*). Tobacco was not grown, as the Umotina did not smoke in the past. 222 The food supply was further augmented by the collection of a wide variety of roots, nuts, and fruits, including the piqui (*heír*), mangaba (*batorákwa*), and the "marmelo" (quince, *kaskorákwa*). 237 Honey (*peíru*), was considered a delicacy and collected particularly before ceremonies.

241 Fields were cleared in the forest, but instead of felling the large trees, the branches were trimmed off in order to let in the sunlight. The undergrowth was beaten down with a wooden sword club (*dntho*) made from the wood of the siriva palm. In September the dry cut-over was burnt, and with the use of only a digging stick (*tópu*), the planting began. Maize was planted first; three or four seeds were put into a hole about 6 inches deep in order to protect them from birds. Manioc was planted by putting two pieces of stalk into a hole prepared with a digging stick. The field was weeded about a month later, after which the

[p. 106 (c)]